Hegel's Ethical Thought

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Introduction

1. Hegel as speculative philosopher

Hegel holds that philosophy is a wholly unique discipline, which deals with unique objects and employs a unique method (EL §§ 1–4). Philosophy is distinguished both from everyday common sense and from the empirical sciences by the way it abstracts from their concerns, and grasps in their purity the "determinations of thought" which, unnoticed, provide everyday life and inquiry with their genuine content (EL § 5; WL 5: 38/45). In Hegel's view, the foundation of all philosophy is the self-evolving system of these abstract thought-determinations, presented in the purely philosophical discipline of speculative logic.

Hegel sees traditional Aristotelian logic as an empty, formal discipline; he intends speculative logic to transform it into a science with profound metaphysical content (EL § 24). Speculative logic will thereby provide a metaphysical key to the a priori comprehension of all reality, enabling philosophy to encompass and systematize the results of empirical science and give to them an a priori character (EL § 12). In so doing, it will overcome the alien, accidental, and objective form taken by these facts in the modern empirical sciences (EL § 7), exhibiting the inner essence of the objective world as at one with our own freedom as thinkers (EL § 23). Hegel thus regards his own philosophical achievement as fundamentally a contribution to metaphysics or "first philosophy."

Hegel is the most methodologically self-conscious of all philosophers in the Western tradition. There is no modern philosopher, not even excepting Descartes, Kant, and Husserl, who displays greater originality in laying the methodological foundations of a philosophical system. This is Hegel's main project during his Jena period, culminating in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* of 1807. It is a side of Hegel seldom appreciated, because Hegel's methodological reflections are a response to the problems of ancient Pyrrhonistic skepticism, rather than to the skeptical worries of the post-Cartesian tradition, which Hegel always esteemed less highly than he did the ancient skeptical tradition.²

2. Dialectical logic

The lifeblood of Hegel's system of speculative logic is the famous Hegelian dialectic. Hegel's dialectic may be viewed as a highly novel theory of philo-

sophical paradoxes: where and why philosophical thought runs into them, what they mean, how to deal with them. Kant argues that when human reason attempts to extend its cognition beyond the bounds of possible experience, it not only is tempted to make unwarranted claims to knowledge, but also is in danger of falling into contradictions (antinomies); the only way to avoid them is by carefully observing the proper limits of its cognitive powers. The part of this account Hegel retains is the idea that our thinking has an inherent tendency to go beyond every limit, and thus to undermine or overthrow itself. He associates this idea with the human self's tendency to change, develop, and progress through a process involving a stage of self-conflict followed by its resolution.³

Hegel holds that a thought determination is what it is because it is determined (or limited) in a definite way. But each such thought has an inherent tendency to push beyond its limit and turn into its opposite, resulting in a contradiction. This "dialectic" of thought determinations, as Hegel calls it, is a cause of consternation to the "understanding" - that analytical disposition of thought which tries to grasp thought determinations in their determinacy. keeping them clearly and distinctly separated from one another. For the understanding, dialectic is a source of scandal and paradox, something to avoid at all costs. But the understanding's efforts are to no avail, because thought itself is dynamic, self-transcending, fundamentally dialectical. Kant realized that thoughts obey the understanding's rules only so long as they remain within their proper bounds. Hegel hastens to add that they have an inherent tendency not to remain confined, a tendency that is as much a part of their nature as the neat analytical definitions within which the understanding wants to confine them. Dialectical paradoxes cannot be avoided, done away with, or treated as mere illusions, as the understanding would wish. They are real, unavoidable, virtually omnipresent.

Hegel argues that the proper way to resolve dialectical paradoxes is not to suppress them, but to systematize them. If you become master of them, they can do positive philosophical work for you. Just as thought inevitably gives rise to contradictions, so it also inevitably reconciles them in a higher unity, as a human self that grows through self-conflict proves its growth by emerging from the conflict into a higher self-harmony. For example, Kant's Second Antinomy opposes the infinite divisibility of the real in space to the indivisibility of its smallest parts (A434/B462). Hegel thinks the antinomy can be resolved by recognizing that the concept of quantity contains within itself both of the opposed determinations, discreteness and continuity (WL 5: 216-227/190-199; cf. EL § 100). Kant resolves the antinomy by saying that as a mere appearance, matter is neither infinitely divisible nor composed of simples $(A_{502-507}/B_{530-53}, 6)$; Hegel resolves it by saying that matter is both at once. It can be both because our thought may legitimately employ both conceptions involving discreteness and conceptions involving continuity in its theorizing about matter.

In effect, Hegel resolves philosophical paradoxes such as the Second Antinomy by relying on an idealist or constructivist picture of the relation of

theory to reality. If reality is constituted by our thought about it, and that thought systematically involves contrasting (even contradictory) aspects or moments, then reality itself must embody the same contradictions. Contradictory thinking about reality is tolerable if we are capable (via the understanding) of distinguishing clearly between the contradictory aspects of our thought, and also (via speculative reason) of reconciling the contradictions in a higher theoretical conception.

We might compare Hegel's treatment of philosophical paradoxes with the later Wittgenstein's. Wittgenstein held that contradictions or paradoxes do not "make our language less usable" because, once we "know our way about" and become clear about exactly where and why they arise, we can "seal them off"; we need not view a contradiction as "the local symptom of a sickness of the whole body." For Wittgenstein contradictions can be tolerated because they are marginal and we can keep them sequestered from the rest of our thinking; for Hegel, they arise systematically in the course of philosophical thought, but they do no harm so long as a system of speculative logic can keep them in their proper place, refusing them admittance to those contexts in which they would do harm. Thus Hegel claims that the old-fashioned logic of the understanding is just a limiting case of speculative logic, which we obtain simply by omitting the dialectical element in thought (EL § 82).

The guarantee that contradictions need not ultimately disrupt thinking is provided by the higher unity, in which the opposites are reconciled and the proper place of each is simultaneously determined. For example, the opposition between continuous quantity and discrete quantity leads to a contradiction when we don't realize that the concept of quantity contains both (WL 5: 229/200). Their difference is overcome in the concept of a determinate quantity or a quantum. This concept sets limits to simple continuity, and hence supersedes (aushebt) the opposition between continuous and discrete quantity (WL 5: 230/201).

Hegel has a broader and a narrower conception of dialectic. Sometimes he includes the "positive reason" that "grasps opposites in their unity" within "dialectic" (WL 5: 52/56), but sometimes he calls this stage "speculation" or "positive reason," in contrast to "dialectic" or "negative reason" (EL § 82). Negative reason is the activity of reason that drives thought determinations beyond themselves and engenders the contradictions that so plague the understanding; speculation or positive reason reconciles contradictions in a higher unity, enabling them to be included in a rational system. In the system of speculative logic, each thought determination leads to another that opposes it, and that opposition leads in turn to a new determination in which the opposition is overcome.

(The regrettable tradition of expounding this theme in the Hegelian dialectic through the grotesque jargon of "thesis," "antithesis," and "synthesis" began in 1837 with Heinrich Moritz Chalybäus, a bowdlerizer of German idealist philosophy, whose ridiculous expository devices should have been forgotten along with his name.⁵ This triad of terms is used by both Fichte and Schelling, though never to express the Hegelian ideas we have just been

examining; to my knowledge, it is never used by Hegel, not even once, for this purpose or for any other. The use of Chalybäus's terminology to expound the Hegelian dialectic is nearly always an unwitting confession that the expositor has little or no firsthand knowledge of Hegel.)

Hegel's speculative logic attempts to run through all basic determinations of thought in a systematic way, assigning each its proper place within the development. At the pinnacle of the system is the "Idea" - thought's tendency to actualize itself by going outside itself. Hegel associates the Idea with the ontological proof for God's existence, since the Idea exhibits the capacity of the highest thought directly to demonstrate its own existence ($EL \S 64$). But the Idea also represents, in religious terms, God's creation of the world. The Idea is thought's proceeding beyond itself to give itself immediate reality in finite, sensuous nature (EL § 244). Hegel's system, comprising the philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit, attempts to develop the structure of the world of nature and the world of the human mind, using the categories and movement of the system of speculative logic as its key. Nature is thought going outside itself; mind or spirit is its return to itself. As a natural being, the human being, through its awareness of itself as thought, transcends the merely natural to the level of the spiritual. "Spirit" embraces not only "subjective spirit" (or individual psychology), but also "objective spirit" (society or culture, culminating in the political state), and finally "absolute spirit," the realms of art, religion, and philosophy - those forms of higher human culture in which spirit becomes aware of itself as absolute, or the ultimate reality.

3. Speculative logic is dead; but Hegel's thought is not

We must admire the boldness of Hegel's methodological conception in the *Phenomenology*, but we must also admit that Hegel's hopelessly ambitious project proves utterly unconvincing in its execution. Even Hegel himself perhaps tacitly abandoned the *Phenomenology* as the foundation of his system in the Heidelberg Encyclopedia (1817), where he relegated the contents of *PhG* Chapters 1–5 to a subordinate part of the philosophy of spirit. The Berlin Encyclopedia (1827, 1830) includes a new introduction to the system (EL §§ 1–83). This introduction expresses reservations about the *Phenomenology*'s procedure as a starting point, at the same time candidly confessing itself encumbered with the identical defects to an even greater extent (EL § 25R).

Viewed from a late twentieth-century perspective, it is evident that Hegel totally failed in his attempt to canonize speculative logic as the only proper form of philosophical thinking. Many of the philosophical paradoxes Hegel needs in order to make his system work are based on shallow sophistries; the resolution to paradoxes supplied by his system is often artificial and unilluminating. When the theory of logic actually was revolutionized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the new theory was built upon precisely

those features of traditional logic that Hegel thought most dispensable. In light of it, philosophical sanity now usually judges that the most promising way to deal with the paradoxes that plague philosophy is the understanding's way. Hegel's system of dialectical logic has never won acceptance outside an isolated and dwindling tradition of incorrigible enthusiasts.

Of course, the history of philosophy is a history of spectacular failures. Descartes failed to put the sciences on an absolutely indubitable basis in his first philosophy. Kant also failed to establish metaphysics as the forever closed and finished science of the transcendental forms of empirical knowledge. Yet Hegel's failure was essentially more final and unredeemable than theirs, since even the problems of Hegel's logic remain alien and artificial to us in ways that the problems of Cartesian and Kantian philosophy do not. As one recent scholar of Hegel's method confesses, the short answer to the question "What is living in the logic of Hegel?" is: "Nothing."

Because Hegel regards speculative logic as the foundation of his system, we might conclude from its failure that nothing in his philosophy could any longer be deserving of our interest. But that would be quite wrong. The fact is rather that Hegel's great positive achievements as a philosopher do not lie where he thought they did, in his system of speculative logic, but in quite a different realm, in his reflections on the social and spiritual predicament of modern Western European culture. Like no one before, and perhaps no one since, Hegel's thought explores the self-conception of modern human beings, the ambivalent relation of modern European culture to its Hebraic–Hellenic heritage, its quest in the modern world for a new image of nature and society, its hopes and self-doubts, its needs and aspirations.

Soon after his death, the influence of Hegel's philosophy began to decline rapidly. Hegel was held in quite low esteem during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the present one. Hegel's contribution to the "human sciences" (Geisteswissenschaften) was always acknowledged even during those periods, however, at least in the German tradition. It was also this side of Hegel's thought that since the 1930s has led to a remarkable resurgence of interest in his philosophy. The situation was already quite clear to Ernst Cassirer nearly a half century ago:

[Hegel's] logic and metaphysics were at first regarded as the strongest bulwarks of his system; yet it was precisely from this side that the system was open to the most violent and dangerous attacks. And after a short struggle they seemed to have been successful. Yet Hegelianism has had a rebirth not in the field of logical or metaphysical thought, but in the field of political thought. There has hardly been a single great political system that has resisted its influence. All our modern political ideologies show us the strength, the durability and permanence of the principles that were first introduced and defended in Hegel's philosophy of right and his philosophy of history.⁸

The living traditions that derive from Hegel's thought – the traditions of Marxist social theory and existential philosophy – are distinctly antimetaphysical in their orientation. The Hegel who still lives and speaks to us is not a speculative logician and idealist metaphysician but a philosophical his-

torian, a political and social theorist, a philosopher of our ethical concerns and cultural identity crises.

4. Speculative philosophy and modern society

This is not necessarily to contradict the assertion that we cannot understand Hegel's social and political concerns without reference to his speculative metaphysics. 9 But we are likely to miss the connection between the two if (with Hegel) we suppose that Hegelian social thought is grounded in Hegelian metaphysics, and conclude that speculative logic is a propaedeutic to Hegel's theory of modern society. In fact, the relation between the two may be very nearly the reverse of this; often Hegel's treatment of metaphysical issues is best viewed as an attempt to interpret these issues as an expression of cultural and existential concerns. The most influential recent interpretation of Hegel's philosophy, that of Charles Taylor's Hegel (1975), understands Hegel's metaphysics essentially as an "expressivist" vision of human agency and its products, viewing Hegel's entire philosophy as a response to the cultural predicament of the post-Enlightenment. 10 If Hegel understood his philosophy as the activity of pure thought-thinking itself, its legacy has rather been that of enabling us to understand how all human thought expresses its concrete social and cultural context.

Even Hegel's own conception of his task speaks in favor of regarding his philosophy as fundamentally occupied with cultural self-understanding and practical self-concern. In 1801, Hegel opens his first piece of published writing with a meditation on "the need of philosophy" in the present age. He sees this need as arising at a time when the unreflective harmony of human individuals with themselves and their world has been rent by a culture based on reflection; and he assigns philosophy the task of reestablishing this harmony at a higher level through reason (D 20–21/89–91). In his last published work, the *Philosophy of Right* (1821), Hegel assigns to philosophy essentially the same function: reconciling reflective individuals with the world, and above all with the social world, through a speculative cognition of the actual in its rationality (PR Preface 27). If an understanding of Hegel's thinking about human selfhood and society refers us to his metaphysics, it is because the principal aim of Hegel's metaphysics is to address the predicament of modern humanity in modern society.

Georg Lukacs acknowledges this point when he says: "The entire Hegelian philosophy is essentially oriented to the knowledge of society and history. Hence its categories are by their very nature adapted to this sphere of being." But once again it is not as though Hegel's social philosophy drives us constantly back to the categories of his metaphysics as to some source of esoteric wisdom. The point is rather that Hegel sees his metaphysics as the foundation of a philosophy that deals with the modern predicament because his own deepest response to the modern predicament is a response on the level of metaphysics or speculative philosophy. Hegel's response to the alienation of modern life is not (like Schiller's or Schelling's) aesthetic, nor (like

Schleiermacher's) religious. Still less does Hegel respond (like Kant and Fichte) by turning the struggle inward to the individual's moral life, nor (like Marx) does he turn it outward to social revolution. Hegel seeks to overcome alienation by rationally reconciling us to the world, comprehending a divine reason, akin to our own, immanent in it.

Hegel makes many extravagant claims for his philosophy, even to the point of arrogating the terms "philosophy" and "science" as nicknames for his own system. But in view of the fact that Hegel's language and ideas often strike us as bewilderingly novel and unfamiliar, it is especially noteworthy that one distinction he never claims for it is originality. Hegel sees himself rather as a synthetic, encyclopedic thinker whose task is to reconcile the wisdom of ancient Greek metaphysics with the faith of the Christian religion, reinterpreting both in terms of the modern claims of free subjectivity and Enlightenment reason. Thus in The Science of Logic Hegel conceives his task not as that of "building a new city in a wasteland" but rather as "remodeling an ancient city, solidly built, and maintained in continuous possession and occupation" (WL 6: 243/575). Hegel does not see himself as the architect of a new system or method like Descartes, still less as the destroyer of a tradition like Nietzsche or Heidegger. He is rather the restorer of an ancient building in need of repair; his original contribution, such as it is, consists in buttressing it through the use of recently acquired materials and engineering techniques. so that it may once again be a sound structure in which to live.

It is this modest and ingenuous self-conception that leads Hegel to speak of his own system simply as "science" or "philosophy." He is as far as possible in this regard from his Romantic contemporaries who thought of both philosophy and art as products of individual genius, monuments to the idiosyncrasy of their self-celebrating creators. For Hegel, a sound philosophical system is not anyone's personal creation at all. In his view, the content of his system is merely the Western philosophical tradition, appropriated by the reflective spirit of modernity. The aim of philosophy is to vindicate *die Sache selbst*, and it can do this only if it owes as little as possible to the unique personality of the individual who happens to formulate it.

In contrast with his misestimate of himself as primarily a metaphysician and speculative logician, Hegel's self-understanding on this point seems to me to contain a good deal of truth, especially regarding ethical topics. In the area of moral philosophy, Hegel's thought represents an attempt, in many ways strikingly successful, to remodel classical ethical theory, exhibiting its fundamental soundness by investing it with the style, and adapting it to the content, of a modern self-understanding. Like Goethe's poetry, Hegel's ethical thought is an attempt to marry the classical ideal with the modern, to unite the harmony of Greek culture with the reflective spirit of the Enlightenment, so as to conceive the modern social order as one in which Faustian aspirations can reach fulfillment without violating the requirements of classical form.

Hegel's achievement lies in his sensitivity to the diverse aspirations of modern humanity, his ability to relate these aspirations to their historical roots

and their focus in social institutions, and his success in integrating these aspirations into a single conception of the modern spirit. Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* articulates our deepest human needs and is sensitive to their diversity and the destructive possibilities that such diversity presents. It points the way to a society in which reflective, rational, and self-integrated individuals can satisfy all of their needs simultaneously, without the regret of lost alternatives or tragic choices between incompatible and incommensurable goods.

For Hegel, of course, its chief significance is philosophical or speculative: to exhibit the social world and one's role in it as rationally satisfying because it is the actualization of reason, the work of divine providence, manifest to the philosopher even in the most worldly aspects of life. Few of Hegel's readers today find it natural to adopt rational theodicy as their fundamental relation to their cultural predicament. Accordingly, they should be more willing than he was to consider Hegel's conception of the vocation of modern individuals and its fulfillment in the modern state in their practical meaning – as a project in rational ethics. To read Hegel in this way is, admittedly, to read him in some measure against his own self-understanding; it is nevertheless the only way in which most of us, if we are honest with ourselves, can read him seriously at all. Such a reading requires that we first look closely at Hegel's own conception of his philosophical project, so that we may see clearly where it leaves room for the possibility of a Hegelian ethical theory.

5. Does Hegel have an ethics?

It is sometimes said, by Hegel's sympathizers as well as his detractors, that Hegel's system contains no "ethics" at all, that for Hegel moral philosophy is "dissolved in sociology" or "absorbed in political philosophy". ¹³ Such remarks are misleading exaggerations, but there is some truth in them if they are understood in the right way.

Hegel's philosophy is fundamentally a speculative metaphysics whose aim is to overcome, through philosophical insight, the alienation of the modern mind from itself, nature, and society. Because of this, in Hegel's mature system even "practical philosophy" is treated from a contemplative perspective – as a stage in spirit's self-knowledge (EG §§ 469–552). Thus Hegel treats "the will" not from the perspective of the volitional agent engaging in practical deliberation, but from the perspective of the speculative philosopher contemplating the will and its mode of actualization. Likewise, the avowed aim of the *Philosophy of Right* is not to tell the state how it ought to be, but rather to provide us with a rational theodicy of modern social life, by exhibiting the actuality of divine reason and the rationality of the social world it has created (PR Preface 24–28).

It is simply false to say that Hegel's philosophy aims at justifying the social and political status quo. On the contrary, Hegel insists that every existing state, standing as it does in the sphere of transitoriness and contingency, is disfigured to some extent by error and wickedness, and fails to be wholly rational, because it fails to be wholly actual (PR § 258A). The Philosophy of

Right clearly leaves room for rational criticism of what exists, and also for practical efforts to improve the existing state by actualizing it, bringing it more into harmony with its own rational essence or concept.

Hegel does deny, however, that such criticism belongs among the tasks of philosophy:

For who is not clever enough to see much in his environment that is not in fact as it ought to be? But this cleverness is wrong to imagine that such objects and their "ought" have any place within the interests of philosophical science. For science has to do only with the Idea, which is not so impotent that it only ought to be without actually being; hence philosophy has to do with an actuality of which those objects, institutions, conditions, etc. are only the superficial outside. (EL § 6; cf. PR Preface 25)

The rhetorical question that introduces this passage is in effect a declaration that no one (least of all Hegel) is so stupid as to claim that the status quo is always as it ought to be. Yet the passage contains two other controversial ideas which, though they do not deny that much in the world is not as it ought to be, nevertheless tend to denigrate the importance often attached to this obvious truth by partisans of the "understanding." The first is an idea about the scope and aim of philosophy. Hegel claims that although it may often be correct to say that social institutions and conditions are not as they should be, it is always wrong to regard such assertions (even where they are correct) as of interest to "philosophical science." For the task of philosophy (conceived here in 1830 very much as it was in the *Differenzschrift* of 1801) is to heal the division or bifurcation (*Entzweiung*) which the modern principle of reflection has opened between our minds and the world; it effects this healing by exhibiting to our reason the world's own deep inner rationality.

We might take Hegel to be agreeing with Aristotle that the highest end of reason is philosophical contemplation and not the ends of practice in the narrower sense ($VGP\ 2$: 167/151). But Hegel opposes speculative cognition both to theory and to practice, treating it as a higher unity in which both are contained. The absolute Idea lies beyond both the Idea of cognition and the Idea of the good ($EL\$ § 236), just as the realm of absolute spirit transcends both theoretical and practical spirit ($EG\$ § 553). Hegel's view seems to be that speculative wisdom belongs equally in contemplation of the reason that shows itself in the world, and in practice that actualizes reason in the world – just as art, religion, and philosophy nourish the human spirit equally in its cognition and its action.

This conception of philosophy rests on a second controversial idea: that although there is much in the contingent, transitory world of existence and appearance that is not as it ought to be, nevertheless the inner essence of things, viewed by speculative reason in its necessity, is inevitably seen to be fully rational and hence spiritually satisfying. Because of this there can be a genuine "science" of speculative logic, which deals entirely with the "thought determinations" that constitute the conceptual essence of the world, and display themselves in external reality. This science is philosophy proper, and its object is solely the "Idea" – the self-realizing rational concept, or the "ab-

solute unity of the concept and objectivity" (EL § 213). In the "real" part of philosophical science, the outward forms taken by thought in the worlds of nature and human society can be reappropriated by the human spirit through our cognition of them. Hegel is convinced that once we have tasted of this purely philosophical science and its truth, we will want to distinguish it from all other standpoints on the world, including the practical one, and to treat them all as essentially inferior.

6. Rationality and actuality

This is the point of Hegel's saying, "The rational is actual, and the actual is rational." In his own exegesis of the saying, Hegel is at pains to distinguish what is "actual" from what merely "exists." The "actual," he says, includes only those existents that fully express and correspond to their essence (EL §§ 6, 142). Such an existent Hegel calls an "appearance" or "phenomenon" (Erscheinung) (EL § 131). The transitory existents that we encounter in everyday life (including societies and states) often fail to be "actual," fail to be "appearances" of their "essence." In them the outer expression is inadequate to the inner essence; and an existent that is imperfect in this way Hegel calls "illusion" or "show" (Schein) (WL 6: 17/394; EL § 131A). (Hegel's use of the term Schein is likely to mislead, since "illusions" in this sense – e.g., evil or sick human beings, badly organized or unjust states – certainly exist every bit as much as "actualities" do.)

What is actual is rational. But one must know, distinguish, what is in fact actual. In common life all is actual, but [in philosophy] there is a distinction between the world of appearance and actuality. The actual has also an external existence, which displays arbitrariness and contingency. . . . Men will always be wicked and depraved, but this is not the Idea. On the surface passions wrestle everywhere, but that is not the actuality of substance. The temporal and transitory certainly exists, and may cause us enough distress; but in spite of that it, along with the particularity of the subject and its wishes and inclinations, is no true actuality. (VGP 2: 110-111/95-96)

Hegel distinguishes between the rational "essence," whose adequate appearance is the "actual," and the "transitory, contingent, superficial exterior," which this essence wears in the sphere of finitude. In effect, this is Hegel's way of drawing the distinction between God and creation; God is the "rational essence" of things, whereas creation is their "superficial exterior" (WL 5; 44/50). Because "philosophy is the true theodicy" (VGP 3: 455/546; VPG 28/15), the only true subject matter of philosophy is God, and philosophy proper occupies itself with the finite world only to the extent that the divine presence is immanent in it – that is, only to the extent that the finite is "actual." The defects of finitude exist, but they are superficial contingencies, justified by the fact that contingency itself is a necessary factor in God's self-manifestation (WL 6: 180/542-553; EL § 145A). ¹⁴

Hegel's philosophy of the state justifies not the status quo, but God; it hallows not the political order but the divine revealing itself in the spiritual realm of the state, just as it does in the lower realm of nature (PR Preface